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CONGRESS FOR CULTURAL FREEDOM

5th International Conference

THE FUTURE
of
FREEDOM

Milan

September 12-17, 1955

MUSEO NAZIONALE DELLA SCIENZA E DELLA TECNICA
PIAZZA S. VITTORE

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THE vision of the nineteenth century, of a continuous and harmonious development of man's material and spiritual forces, appears to have been contradicted by facts. In large areas of the world, today, new and unimagined forms of human enslavement have emerged. Elsewhere, human freedom finds itself diminished or menaced by the insecurities of a period of international tension and by the inner imperatives of an industrial-technological civilization. Certain ideas forged by the liberal outlook have been shown to be incapable of interpreting, or even defining, the new political realities. What is worse, these ideas today lend themselves readily to misuse by totalitarian ideologies.

The vocabulary of politics, like the realities it reflects, is in a state of transition. What remains of the venerable and simple antitheses: "capitalism vs. the state", "progress vs. economic planning", "the individual vs. the state", "progress vs. reaction", "left vs. right", "freedom vs. authority"? Traditional institutions, once assumed to be inevitable obstacles to the advancement of liberty, have on various occasions proved to be liberty's ultimate safeguard.

However, beneath the surface of every political discussion and controversy, there are already signs of a tendency to rethink our conventional political ideas in the light of recent history. We believe the moment opportune for this tendency to become articulate.

The conference we are calling is in the nature of a research project. Its aim is primarily critical: to distinguish between real problems and pseudo-problems, actual alternatives and specious ones in order to be able to define our dilemmas and our prospects, as they really are.

We hope that the conference will serve as a forum for the expression of the most diverse views in economics, sociology and political philosophy. But we also hope that, in the course of discussion, some fresh insight will be gained into the authentic bases of liberty in our time.

Programme

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

I - Challenge to a free society

11 a. m.

Chairman : Prof. Virgilio FERRARI

Opening addresses by :

Raymond ARON, Hugh GAITSKELL, Aldo GAROSCI, Friedrich v. HAYEK,
Sidney HOOK, Michael POLANYI

II - Economic systems : Their aims and their realities

4 p. m.

a) Difference of economic ideology and practice among the nations of the West

Chairman : M. Robert BURON.

Papers by :

Ely DEVONS : "Changing economic ideologies in the United Kingdom".
John K. GALBRAITH : "Economics, ideology and the intellectual".
Henri JANNE : "Planning and political regime".
Takeyasu KIMURA : "The economic foundations of freedom. Some observations in the light of Japanese experience".
Walter TRITSCH : "Outworn ideas and misleading issues".

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 13

b) Correspondence and contrasts between the economic systems of the West and that of the Communist world

10 a. m.

Chairman: Mr. Minoo MASANI

Papers by:

Colin CLARK : "The Soviet crisis: Myths and reality of the Soviet production increase".
Libero LENTI : "Convergencies and divergencies of individual and collective economics".
Peter WILES : "What is to be done about the success of Soviet industry?".

c) Economic progress in the underdeveloped countries and the rivalry of communist and democratic methods

Chairman : M. Denis de ROUGEMONT.

Papers by:

Eric DA COSTA : "Cultural freedom in an underdeveloped economy (an Indian case history)".
Sumitro DJOJOHADIKUSUMO:
Constantin A. DOXIADIS : "Economic progress in underdeveloped countries and the rivalry of democratic and communist methods".
Bertrand de JOUVENEL : "Some fundamental similarities between the Soviet and capitalist economic systems".
W. Arthur LEWIS : "Is Communism necessary for rapid growth in underdeveloped countries?".
G. D. PARIKH : "Economic progress of underdeveloped countries and the rivalry between democratic and totalitarian methods".

WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 14

III - Threats and obstacles to a free society

10 a. m.

a) Inherent instabilities of a free society

The systematic abuse of free institutions
for purposes of their subversion

Causes of paralysis of democratic functions

Chairman: Mr. Hugh GAITSKELL.

Papers by: R. H. S. CROSSMAN: "Democratic control of foreign policy".
Hans BLAU: "Internal dangers in a free society".
Seymour M. LIPSET: "The working class and democratic values".
John PLAMENATZ: "Threats to a free society".
Arthur SCHLESINGER Jr: "Threats to a free society: Freedom and subversion".
W. S. WOYTINSKY: "The road of freedom".

b) The problems of a mass society

4 p. m.

The influence of mass media

Chairman: Prof. Dr. Karlo SCHMID

Papers by: Karl BEDNARIK: "Regulators of social freedom".
Daniel BELLE: "The ambiguities of the mass society (and the complexities of American life)".
Zengo OHIRA:
Bertram D. WOLFE: "The problems of a great state: War and bureaucracy as threats to freedom".

c) The rise and development of totalitarianism and authoritarian forms of government in the twentieth century

Chairman: Mr. John Kenneth GALBRAITH.

Papers by: Hannah ARENDT: "The rise and development of totalitarianism and authoritarian forms of government in the twentieth century".
Merle FAINSOD: "Threats to freedom: Twentieth century totalitarianism".
Theodor LITT: "Reason, tradition and freedom".
Tomoo OTAKA: "Authoritarianism in Japan".
Gerhard RITTER: "Freedom: The threat from within".

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THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 15

III - Threats and obstacles to a free society (cont'd) 10 a. m.

d) The role of nationalism in fostering and imperiling free societies; the influence of colonialism and racial conflicts

Chairman: M. Jorge MANACH.

Papers by:
 ✓ German ARCINIEGAS: "South America: Freedom versus totalitarianism".
 ✓ K. A. BUSIA: "The influence of colonialism and racial conflicts on the development and maintenance of free societies".
 Denis HEALEY: "Nationalism and liberty".
 ✓ Rita HINDEN: "Colonies and freedom".
 Geoffrey F. HUDSON: "Freedom and frontiers".
 ✓ Kamal JUMBLAT:
 ✓ Hans KOHN: "Rethinking nationalism".
 ✓ Herbert PASSIN: "Nationalism in Asia".

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 16

IV - The resilience of freedom

4 p. m.

How is freedom kept alive under oppression? The inner resistance of individuals; outward forms of resistance

Chairman: Mr. Friedrich v. HAYEK

Papers by:
 1) Franz BOEHM: "Future of freedom in the era of the cold war"
 R. P. DUBARLE: "Political control of thought and freedom of culture".
 Czeslaw MISLOSZ: "Wielinski and the Unicorn".
 2) Joseph SCHOLIMSKY: "Opposition and resistance movements in the Soviet Union".
 3) Manès SPERBER: "Freedom and indifference".

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 17 *Wednesday*

V - Safeguards of a free society

10 a. m.

Traditions as a bulwark and as an impediment of a free society: dialectic of tradition and reason; the basis of authority and civil rights in a free society: dialectic of consensus and dissent

Chairman: Sir John LATHAM.

Papers by:
 Michael FREUND: "Tradition and freedom".
 Stuart HAMPSHIRE: "Freedom and its defence".
 Helmuth PLESSNER:
 Edward SHILS: "Tradition and liberty: Antinomy and interdependence".

VI - Strategy of freedom

4 p. m.

Chairman: Ing. Adriano Olivetti

Concluding addresses by:

Carlo ANTONI, A. D. GORWALA, George F. KENNAN, Michael POLANYI, Denis de ROUGEMONT, H. SANTA-CRUZ.

List of participants

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F O R

C U L T U R A L

F R E E D O M

C O N G R È S

P O U R L A L I B E R T É D E L A C U L T U R E

K O N G R E S S

F Ü R K U L T U R E L L E F R E I H E I T

Unanimously adopted in Berlin on 30 June 1950

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1. We hold it to be self-evident that intellectual freedom is one of the inalienable rights of man.

2. Such freedom of man is defined first and foremost by his right to hold and express his own opinions, and particularly opinions which differ from those of his rulers. Deprived of the right to say "no", man becomes a slave.

3. Freedom and peace are inseparable. In any country, under any regime, the overwhelming majority of ordinary people fear and oppose war. The danger of war becomes acute when governments, by suppressing democratic representative institutions, deny to the majority the means of imposing its will to peace.

Peace can be maintained only if each government submits to the control and inspection of its acts by the people whom it governs, and agrees to submit all questions immediately involving the risk of war to a representative international authority, by whose decision it will abide.

4. We hold that the main reason for the present insecurity of the world is the policy of governments which, while paying lip-service to peace, refuse to accept this double control. Historical experience proves that wars can be prepared and waged under any slogan, including that of peace. Campaigns for peace which are not backed by acts that will guarantee its maintenance are a counterfeit currency circulated for dishonest purposes. Intellectual sanity and physical security can only return to the world if such practices are abandoned.

5. Freedom is based on the toleration of divergent opinions. The principle of toleration does not logically permit the practice of intolerance.

6. No political philosophy or economic theory can claim the sole right to represent freedom in the abstract. We hold that the value of such theories is to be judged by the range of concrete freedom which they afford the individual in practice.

We likewise hold that no race, nation, class or religion can claim the sole right to represent the idea of freedom, nor the right to deny freedom to other groups or creeds in the name of any ultimate ideal or lofty aim whatsoever. We hold that the historical contribution of any society is to be judged by the extent and quality of the freedom which its members actually enjoy.

7. In times of emergency, restrictions on the freedom of the individual are imposed in the real or assumed interest of the community. We hold it to be essential that such restrictions be confined to a minimum of clearly specified

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actions; that they be understood to be temporary and limited expedients in the nature of a sacrifice ; and that the measures restricting freedom be themselves subject to free criticism and democratic control. Only thus can we have a reasonable assurance that emergency measures restricting individual freedom will not degenerate into a permanent tyranny.

8. In totalitarian states restrictions on freedom are no longer intended and publicly understood as sacrifice imposed on the people, but are on the contrary represented as triumphs of progress and achievements of a superior civilization. We hold that both the theory and practice of these regimes run counter to the basic rights of the individual and the fundamental aspirations of mankind as a whole.

9. We hold the danger represented by these regimes to be all the greater since their means of enforcement far surpasses that of all previous tyrannies in the history of mankind. The citizen of the totalitarian state is expected and forced not only to abstain from crime but to conform in all his thoughts and actions to a prescribed pattern. Citizens are persecuted and condemned on such unspecified and all-embracing charges as being « enemies of the people » or « socially unreliable elements ».

10. We hold that there can be no stable world so long as mankind, with regard to freedom, remains divided into « haves » and « have-nots ». The defence of existing freedoms, the reconquest of lost freedoms and the creation of new freedoms, are parts of the same struggle.

11. We hold that the theory and practice of the totalitarian state are the greatest challenge which man has been called on to meet in the course of civilized history.

12. We hold that indifference or neutrality in the face of such a challenge amounts to a betrayal of mankind and to the abdication of the free mind. Our answer to this challenge may decide the fate of man for generations.

13. The defence of intellectual liberty today imposes a positive obligation : to offer new and constructive answers to the problems of our time.

14. We address this manifesto to all men who are determined to regain those liberties which they have lost and to preserve and extend those which they enjoy.

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*The following personalities have, among others, signed this
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Le Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture a décidé de réunir à Milan, du 12 au 17 septembre 1955, une Conférence Internationale sur le thème : "L'Avenir de la Liberté", à laquelle sont conviés les économistes, sociologues, historiens de tendances les plus diverses et de tous pays.

Rappelons que le Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture, fondé en 1950, est une association internationale d'écrivains, de penseurs, de savants et d'artistes, qui se propose pour but de défendre la liberté de l'esprit créateur et critique contre toute atteinte.

Il n'est lié à aucun gouvernement ou parti politique. Ses présidents d'honneur sont : le philosophe allemand Karl Jaspers, l'essayiste et historien espagnol Don Salvador de Madariaga, le célèbre savant et penseur anglais Lord Bertrand Russell, Jacques Maritain, fondateur du néo-thomisme, l'écrivain américain Reinhold Niebuhr. Denis de Rougemont en est le président effectif.

L'objet de la Conférence de Milan est de provoquer une vaste confrontation relative aux problèmes qui affectent notre univers et qui rendent urgent le progrès même de la technique comme l'évolution de la société.

Que reste-t-il, en effet, de ces grandes anthithèses qui permettaient, jadis, de penser le monde : capitalisme et socialisme, laisser-faire et planisme, collectivité et individu, tradition et révolution, démocratie et dictature, progrès et réaction, gauche et droite ?

La Conférence cherche avant tout à examiner ces prétendues options à la lumière de l'expérience, et à détecter les faux problèmes en s'attaquant à toutes les mystifications intellectuelles.

Elle ne vise donc pas à dégager les directives d'action ou de propagande, mais à poser les véritables alternatives de la liberté dans ce siècle.

Le programme de la Conférence comporte une suite de discussions autour d'un certain nombre de rapports écrits qui en délimitent le sujet.

Parmi les nombreuses personnalités qui ont déjà accepté de participer à cette très importante manifestation, citons en particulier le sociologue autrichien Walter Tritesch, l'économiste belge Henri Janne; pour l'Inde, Eric Da Costa, directeur de journal et Minoo Masani; le professeur indonésien Sumitro Djojohadikusumo; le professeur japonais Tomoc Otaka; M. Alfredo Morales pour les Philippines; pour la France, l'écrivain Raymond Aron, MM. Robert Buron et André Philip, anciens ministres, les sociologues Roger Caillais,

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et Michel Collinet, M. Alfred Sauvy, économiste et démographe; pour l'Allemagne, M. Max Brauer, maire de Hambourg et le professeur Theodor Litt; les universitaires anglais Colin Clark, C.A.R. Crosland, Michael Polanyi, MM. Richard Crossman, Hugh Gaitskell, ancien Chancelier de l'Echiquier, Denis W. Healey et Christopher Hollis, membres du Parlement; le professeur et expert économique grec Constantin Doxiadis; pour l'Italie, M. Virgilio Ferrari, professeur, maire de Milan, les professeurs Marcello Boldrini, Gino Cassinis, Libero Lenti, Franco Valsoocchi, le duc Tommaso Gallarati-Scotti, ambassadeur, le Dr. Luigi Morandi, le professeur Claudio Barigozzi, le journaliste Luigi Barzini, les professeurs Aldo Garosci, Franco Venturi, le Dr. Ernesto Rossi, Ferruccio Parri, ancien Premier Ministre, l'écrivain Ignazio Silone, l'industriel Adriano Olivetti. Pour l'Amérique latine, le professeur Jorge Manach et M. Eduardo Santos, ancien Président de la République de Colombie. Le Dr. C. Zuraik, pour le Liban; M. Heinrich Bruggmans, Recteur du Collège d'Europe, pour les Pays-Bas; M. Jens Christian Hauge, ministre du gouvernement norvégien; M. R. Edberg, parlementaire et journaliste suédois, M. Herbert Tingsten, directeur de journal à Stockholm; les écrivains suisses Herbert Luthy et Denis de Rougemont; les professeurs John Kenneth Galbraith, Friedrich V. Hayek, Richard Hofstadter, Sidney Hook, l'ambassadeur George F. Kennan, les historiens Arthur Jr. Schlesinger, Peter Viereck et Bertram D. Wolfe pour les Etats-Unis. Enfin, le professeur German Arciniegas, M. Alex Weissberg-Cybulski et les écrivains Czeslaw Milosz et Manès Sperber.

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La Conférence de Milan n'est pas la première manifestation organisée par le Congrès pour la Liberté de la Culture,

Depuis sa création et la première rencontre qui réunit à Berlin 118 intellectuels de tous pays, celui-ci a en effet organisé un grand nombre de manifestations internationales sur des thèmes variés touchant divers problèmes intellectuels et artistiques, notamment à Bruxelles (novembre 1950), Bombay (mars 1951), Andlau (septembre 1951), Stockholm (mars 1952), Rome (avril 1954 et avril-mai 1955).

Citons plus spécialement les concerts, expositions de peinture et de sculpture, les conférences, les débats entre écrivains de diverses nations, qui constituèrent, en mai 1952 à Paris, un festival international des Arts sans précédent, sous le titre : "L'Oeuvre du XXe Siècle", dressant un bilan impressionnant de l'effort artistique du monde libre contemporain.

Il faut aussi rappeler la réunion à Hambourg, en juillet 1953, de nombreux et illustres savants de diverses disciplines, parmi lesquels nous citerons Arthur H. Compton, Lise Meitner, Max von Laue, Max Hartmann, James Franck, Daniel Iagache, Jean Thibaud, qui se réunirent pour examiner en commun les questions relatives à la science et à la liberté.

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THE FUTURE OF FREEDOM

Proposal for an International Conference

to be held in Milan in September 1955

under the auspices of the

Congress for Cultural Freedom

MEMORANDUM

A. PREAMBLE

The great social upheavals of our century have engulfed or imperilled freedom over large parts of the world. Profound dissatisfaction with the existing social order, and a determination to devise a new and immensely improved form of society, originally inflamed these conflicts. But the violent endeavors of our age were put to the hard test of experience in the various reform movements and comprehensive social experiments of the past thirty five years, and today it falls to us to apply the lessons of these experiences - bought at the cost of much suffering - for a realistic reconsideration of our social problems.

At midpoint in the twentieth century, the terms of yesterday's programs must no longer divide us. Our concepts of Socialism and Capitalism, of economic planning and the market economy, of nationalization, of full employment, of social welfare, of taxation, of colonialism, have profoundly altered as the result of recent decades. The old political and philosophical categories have also been shattered: Totalitarianism has side-tracked the alternatives of progress and reaction. Popular mass movements have repeatedly proved inimical to freedom and, on occasion, have been restrained only by traditional institutions which in the past opposed the march of freedom. Modern fanaticism has appealed to a scientific outlook which originally fought religious fanaticism.

Under the surface of public opinion and of political controversy, a new receptivity for a sobered view of economic and political affairs can

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be widely felt in many Western countries; we must take the initiative in bringing into the open a complete revaluation of the issues of our time. The meeting on the Future of Freedom should bring together leading economists, social scientists, historians and writers of different economic, philosophic and political tendencies - in mutual confidence and common concern - resolved to penetrate to the true alternatives that are open to us today. In this manner we hope to facilitate a confrontation of different points of view and different schools of thought, not contaminated by ancient venom, so that we may try to define as concretely as we can the requirements of individual material well-being and spiritual freedom and examine together the alternative methods which modern society may employ to fulfil these needs.

The history of the past fifty years shows that the legitimate economic functions of the government inevitably involve the extent of individual liberty. A comprehensive comparison of the experiences made during the past decades in countries with different economic policies will form a solid point of departure for assessing this connection. Thus a picture should emerge, showing the real variations of the economic order and the corresponding range of achievements and shortcomings of the various economic and political tendencies. These comparisons should throw light on the question, how far the intensity of state intervention in the field of economics abridges public liberties. Has the loss of individual freedom in some societies been a necessary price paid for the economic progress achieved by them? Similar questions arise where radical measures were taken to enhance social security and, again, where modern technology was introduced suddenly into underdeveloped regions.

But the future of freedom depends not only on the successful fulfilment of the economic function by modern democratic governments; for the basic conflict of our time extends in a great variety of directions and occupies many levels of thought and action. Its most distinctive feature, however, is the fact that it involves a fundamental antagonism between diverse and contradictory concepts of freedom. This conflict

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threatens to resolve itself in a crisis of allegiance, both on the domestic and on the international plane. A clearer vision of contemporary reality must be obtained in order that the available ideological alternatives can be more precisely stated and thus provide a meaningful basis upon which a choice among them may be made.

An enquiry into the philosophical foundations of freedom, conducted in common anxiety and mutual confidence by men and women of different economic, philosophic and political persuasion, should help to consolidate the cause of freedom and create a new concern for the fate of liberty. From this should emerge a conception of history which should serve as a guide towards the future of freedom and as an inspiration in the fight for its future.

B. TENTATIVE OUTLINE OF TOPICS

1.- Claims and Substance of Economic Systems

- a) Differences on economic policies and ideologies within the countries of the Western world.
 - b) Characteristics of the economic structure of the Western countries on the one hand, and Soviet countries on the other (with special attention to be devoted to Yugoslavia, as a country in transformation from one system to another).
- (These differences to be measured by objective criteria like employment and taxation policies, use for incentives, role of trade unions, corporations and banks, methods of investment, function of the market, etc.)
- c) Problems of the underdeveloped countries and of their relations with countries of the Western and Soviet types.

2.- Foundations of a Free Society

The irreducible minimum conditions of a free society.
Civil liberties and popular government.
Tradition, rational organization, and freedom.
Free consensus or orthodoxy.

3.- Modern Challenges to the Free Society

Internal instability.
Problems of mass-society.
Rise of totalitarian forms of government.
Modern dictatorships.
Nationalism.

4.- The Future of Freedom

- a) Strivings for freedom under oppression
- b) Responsibility for freedom
- c) Future strategy of freedom.

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C. EXPLANATORY NOTES

- (1) The projected international Conference on the Future of Freedom will take place in Milan, Italy, during a period of six days in September 1955.
- (2) The general plan of the Conference calls for two or three public meetings, open on the basis of invitation to scholars and students from the University of Milan and other universities in the Milan area, and ~~for~~ three or four working sessions, attended by all participants in the Conference. Committees of interested participants will also be formed to deal with specific aspects of the general program.
- (3) A basic paper will be prepared on each of the four major topics of the Conference. They will be distributed among five or six other participants in order to elicit papers from them, containing their views on the problems raised. In this manner, it is anticipated that a kind of symposium will be achieved prior to the Conference on each of the major topics. (The basic paper for the first of the four Conference topics has already been prepared by Mr. Raymond Aron.)
- (4) The International Secretariat is presently constituting an organizational committee in preparation for the Conference. In this matter, the Secretariat has the advice of Professors Raymond Aron, Sidney Hook, Michael Polanyi, and Carlo Schmid, who are members of the Executive Committee of the Congress for Cultural Freedom. It will also be in consultation with other highly qualified persons, representing various academic disciplines and different points of view.

It is hoped that the organizational committee, to consist of twelve to fifteen persons, will be constituted during September, and that a definite program for the Conference will be adopted by the committee at the beginning of October.

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- (5) A local Milanese host committee, comprising representative personalities in the cultural life of Milan and the Milanese region, will be formed. This committee will comprise outstanding members of the universities and public life in Milan.

The Congress for Cultural Freedom has been assured of the collaboration of the Ente Manifestazioni Milanesi, Milan.

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L'AVVENIRE DELLA LIBERTA'

Conferenza Internazionale sotto gli auspici del
Congresso per la Libertà della Cultura

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12-17. SETTEMBRE 1955

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